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WILLIAM M. REEDY, Editor and Proprietor.

CONTENTS

MAKE MUNITIONS IN PRISONS: By W. M. R.	365
PROMISE OR THREAT OF CHICAGO: By William Marion Reedy	366
REFLECTIONS: Let Us Keep Our Heads and Feet—It's All Done—Let George Do It—Missouri Republicanism—War Insurance—Why is This?—Distinction and Difference—"Jim" Hill—Will Cleveland Pass St. Louis?—Dirty Attack on Gardner—Wiping Out the Vile Saloon. By William Marion Reedy	367
PROF. HYSLOP VS. PATIENCE WORTH: By W. M. R.	370
A NIGHT IN LIMEHOUSE: By Thomas Burke	371
TO JULIA MARLOWE: On Her Farewell to the Stage. By Thomas S. Jones, Jr.	371
LETTERS FROM THE PEOPLE: My Right to Employ a Quack—God Save the Doctors—A Jewish Protest—What's the Matter, etc.—Dr. Ben Reitman's Jail Life	372
TERMS OF PEACE: By Roland G. Usher	374
KITTY COMES IN: By W. M. R.	376
SINN FEIN: By Louis J. McQuilland	377
MARTS AND MONEY	378

Make Munitions in Prisons

By W. M. R.

SHALL we have munitions made by the Government or by private manufacturers, when we get down to the business of preparedness?

There is much to be said on both sides. If the Government makes the munitions we shall have munition making in politics, an interest in piling up the supply and then possibly an interest in seeing the supply put to use. If munition making is to be in private hands we shall still have a big interest in favor of a glut of munitions and, finally, of war. Munitions in the one case will become a part of political "pork." In the other, munitions will be a powerful special interest, with a lobby and all the rest of it. Munition factories will be sought for various Congressional districts. And over against that we shall have the private munition makers trying to elect their friends to Congress. Either of these propositions is open to objection which need not be labored here.

Now, here's a way out. Why not have the munitions manufactured in our penitentiaries? There we should have the making of them under governmental control, but we should not have the manufacture dominated by any special interest in multiplying the output. Of course we should have to eliminate the prison contractor. We could begin with the Federal prisons and extend the system to the State prisons, as an increase of the need for supply should develop. This would be a way of finding work for convicts without bringing their product into competition with that of free labor. At least there would be no competition worth talking about in times of peace. In time of war there would be other work for free labor, the convicts having in the meantime provided a good supply of munitions to start with.

It may be objected that it would be dangerous to set convicts to work making explosives, but they need not make explosives to blow up their prisons. They need only make the containers of the explosives. Still there is no likelihood that convicts, even if they were engaged in the making of explosives, would be moved to blow themselves to kingdom come. If it be said that the making of munitions might have a bad moral effect upon convicts, it is well to remember that such employment would probably have a worse moral effect upon free labor.

Convicts must have something to do. Here is something they could do with the least possible evil effect upon labor and industry. There would be no competition at all between free and prison labor, since there would be but one customer, the Government, and that customer would be easily supplied under ordinary conditions. For the greater part of the time there would be no such demand for munitions as we have noted during the present war. The prisoners would work the plants moderately during peace and keep them in condition for

a speeding up of production in a crisis. The plants would be ready in case of need. And always they would be available for experimentation in new manufactures of war supplies.

Convict-made munitions might not have any better standing than convict-made goods of other kinds, but if that should be the case, probably their ill-repute would be useful in adding to the unpopularity of war as an expression of the national genius. Doubtless soldiers would not like to wear prison-made uniforms or eat prison-made bread, and they might object to using prison-made guns or shells or poison gas, but such qualms would be minor matters as compared with the soldier's activity in killing other men.

If our munitions were made in our penitentiaries, without the interposition of contractors of convict labor, we could keep our munition making down to an irreducible minimum. It might look bad to have our death dealing instrumentalities provided by state-coerced labor, but if the work itself be reprehensible it were better done by those under punishment by the State than that it be done by free citizens. And if the State should not force its prisoners to make munitions, it should not force its citizens into the army to kill the citizens of other countries.

It seems to me that prison-made munitions is the way out of the dilemma of government munitions factories on the one hand, with strikes against speeding or bonuses, such as are threatened in certain legislation related to preparedness, as formulated by Mr. Gompers, and the turning over of munition making to private concerns who would be thus, according to accepted theory in some quarters, inspired to foment war-scares and even wars for the purpose of increasing their profits.

Under either government or private auspices munition making would be at the mercy of organized labor. The unions are opposed to war. They might strike and thus cause us to lose a war. Convicts could not well do any such thing. Of course, with convict-made munitions we should get our supply cheap—and that's a consideration. Government manufacture is always dear. Private manufacture looks for all the profit the traffic will bear.

Perhaps some one arises here and says my proposal is one that detracts from the dignity of war. Well, who cares nowadays for the dignity of war. There isn't any. It is in fact sordid and ugly. And anything that makes war unattractive is something very much to be desired. It's no worse to set convicts to making munitions than to set soldiers to slaying. If convict-made munitions will do away with political pork and graft, and private blood-money profit, why, one horror of war is done away with.

Make munitions in the prisons, I say. It will minimize munition-making. It will minimize militarism and jingoism. And as I have heard prisoners of war are sometimes put to work at munition making, I can't see how it would be worse so to employ prisoners of peace.

Promise or Threat of Chicago

By William Marion Reedy

NEXT Tuesday, June 6, according to programme, there will be called to order in the city of Chicago, the national convention of the regular Republican party and the national convention of the Progressive party; the one at the Coliseum and the other at the Auditorium. When the decision to call the Progressive party convention on the same date as the regular gathering was reached, it was undoubtedly the intention and desire of the seceders of 1912 that the conjunction of events might provide occasion for a reunion of their forces upon a practicable programme, and such nomination as would give hope of defeating the Democracy in 1916. For some time it seemed as if there might be a realignment of the divided forces and an agreement upon a platform and a ticket. The hopes which were so strong when the Progressives issued their convention-call last winter are now grown faint indeed.

It does not now seem likely that there can be any binding up of wounds or bridging of the bloody chasm. It is almost painfully evident that the convention which will meet in the Coliseum will be dominated by men unalterably opposed to any compact with the forces which bolted in 1912. To put it plainly, the Republican convention will be under the thumb of the members of what is called "the Old Guard." They are not as strong as they were in 1912, and they have not such a massed strength of malleable delegates from the Southern states. Again, whatever the leaders may say, there can be no doubt that the delegates are not the iron-clad, copper-riveted, stampede-proof kind which furnished the motive power of the Taft steam-roller in July 1912. Whatever the partisan feeling may be in both conventions, we must admit that in each there exists a determination to reach a result that will give some assurance of a likelihood of defeating the Democracy under the leadership of Woodrow Wilson. In 1912 the two factions were so bitter against each other that they had little or no care for anything but factional triumph. The split in the party was responsible for the election of Mr. Wilson. The combined vote of the regular Republicans and the Progressives was much larger than that of the Democratic candidate. Doubtless, leaders on both sides of the quarrel at the present time are determined, if it is humanly possible, that differences shall be adjusted and all forces united for the overthrow of the man their disunion placed in the White House.

As the conventions assemble there is apparently little talk about any candidates other than Colonel Roosevelt and Supreme Justice Hughes. The latter gentleman cannot be said to be the choice of "the Old Guard" in command of the regular Republicans. The bosses do not like him. He is not the sort of man who commends himself to people like Barnes of New York, Penrose of Pennsylvania, or the very practical politicians of states like Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. It is highly probable that, other things being equal, none of the boss-controlled delegations would select Justice Hughes as a candidate. It may be said that their attitude towards Hughes is not that they hate him less but Roosevelt more. After the lapse of four years, undoubtedly many supporters of Roosevelt at that time have reverted to regularism, at least to the extent of a willingness to accept Hughes as the regular nominee. In the main, however, it appears

as if most of the original Roosevelt men are still for the Colonel and ready to raise pandemonium in order to see him made the nominee of both factions, or else to nominate him again as a third party candidate.

In the regular Republican convention the majority of delegates will be controlled by men openly opposed to Roosevelt and only friendly to Justice Hughes as a sort of a last resort, or anything-to-beat-Roosevelt. The uninstructed delegations in this convention constitute a majority thereof. Most of those uninstructed delegations are, in a sense, instructed for so-called "favorite sons." Among these favorite sons are such men as Root of New York, Weeks of Massachusetts, Cummins of Iowa, Burton of Ohio, Fairbanks of Indiana, Sherman of Illinois. These favorite son candidates will be chiefly useful as a means of delaying a decision as to the nominee. While nominating speeches are being made and ballots taken, the leaders will have an opportunity to feel the pulse of the convention and to get together and weigh up the situation with a view to selecting a possible compromise candidate between Hughes and Roosevelt. It does not seem likely that Root or Weeks with their capitalistic record; Cummins with his excessive caution, not unlike that of the late Senator Allison; Burton with his far-famed coldness; Fairbanks with his altitudinous commonplaceness, will be found to be an acceptable compromise. As I said last week, the prospects are that Senator Lawrence Y. Sherman is the man upon whom it will be most feasible to unite. Furthermore, I referred to the quite patent fact that there was an underground, or possibly a submarine, movement originating in Ohio for the nomination of Mr. Warren G. Harding, who is to make the "key-note" speech, opening the convention. There is some talk likewise of a possible agreement upon Governor McCall of Massachusetts, a singularly able, independent Republican of the most pronounced type. Because of his geographical location and because of his attitude of fairness in the 1912 convention, Senator Sherman is a very conspicuous peg upon which an accommodation might be hung. Possibly also if Governor Hadley should be given a chance to demonstrate his ability on the floor, as he did in 1912, when he was the Roosevelt leader, his conspicuous gifts might turn the hearts and minds of the delegates to him. An attempt was made to make him a compromise candidate in 1912 but it was without his knowledge and consent. He fought for Roosevelt unto the last ditch but did not leave the party with the bolters. In this he did not break faith with Colonel Roosevelt, who knew from the beginning that Governor Hadley would not "bolt;" so that while there is a memory of good feeling for Governor Hadley among the regulars there is no particular animosity toward him among the Progressives. The Missouri delegates, however, have refused to make Governor Hadley the chairman of the delegation and unless they give him a chance on the resolutions committee he will have no opportunity to prove again his splendid resourcefulness and undoubted power. In view of the fact that the regulars, in so far as the bosses represent them, really do not want to nominate either Hughes or Roosevelt, there may be said to be an almost unsurmountable opposition to the nomination of either. The only question with the bosses and with such delegations as they control will be whether any one of the five or six other possible compromise candidates can win against Wilson. Involved in this question is, of course, another and that is this: Which

one of the possible candidates would be most likely to bring about a situation in which the Progressives would refuse to name a ticket of their own?

Colonel Roosevelt has placed himself so redly upon record as believing Wilson and Democracy are the sum of human inefficiency and the political abomination of desolation, that it does not seem possible he can insist upon running as a third party candidate regardless of the identity of the nominee of the regulars. Colonel Roosevelt cannot afford to pursue a course that will elect Wilson again. In looking over the names of the favorite sons as above, one is struck by the fact that the ablest men are the least available. Root is the ablest Republican alive. He is, viewed from his own party standpoint, one of the world's distinguished statesmen. But he is too old and has too much of what is called a corporation record. Burton is an extremely able, statistical, wooden, dry and cold proposition. He and enthusiasm are not even distantly related. Cummins is a Laodicean. He is neither progressive nor reactionary. He is a play-safe-er. His course in the senate, while it cannot be said to have been wobbly, has been such as to disappoint about equally the friends of both sides of every important question. He does not appeal to the Republican imagination as a front-line fighter. Governor McCall of Massachusetts is a fighter from Fightville, but his Congressional record as an anti-Labor man is such as would result in an almost unanimous uprising of the organized workers of the country against him. Fairbanks is out of the question; there is but one connotation of his name and that is buttermilk. This leaves Sherman of Illinois, who was for Roosevelt in 1912 but stayed with the regulars, who has made a fairly capable Senator and seems to have his party solidly back of him. He represents the center of the country and is, if anything, a little nearer the West than the East. The convention will be held in his State and all the local influences will be brought strongly to bear upon the gathering. If the dickerers of the Ohio delegation can have their way, they will make a strong plea for Harding as being in the line of the McKinley tradition and in the further tradition of the Ohioan's luck in presidential campaigns.

Some mid-continent man or some western man would seem to be called for by the situation. The delegations from the big eastern states may not know it now, but they will learn when the convention assembles that there is no such nation-wide demand for the uttermost limit of preparedness as the East supposes. The East, whether consciously or not, identifies preparedness with preparedness pro-English and anti-German. The Middle-West, the West, the Northwest and the Southwest are decidedly not, as Americans in political action, pro- or anti-anybody. They are for preparedness as an ordinary, human, national precaution and not for preparedness in a jingoistic or militaristic sense, or with any idea of associating it with national glory. This is the sentiment which will operate largely to prevent the nomination of Colonel Roosevelt. The West is not as mad for war as the Colonel and it doesn't hate the Kaiser. While there is no scintilla of proof that Justice Hughes is pro-German there is no escaping the fact that a rumor runs throughout the country to the effect that he must be pro-German or he couldn't be sufficiently anti-Roosevelt to oppose the redoubtable Colonel. There have been some indications of strong pro-German support for Hughes, but this is due probably

to the feeling of some German Republicans that anybody less anti-German than Roosevelt is good enough for them. About the only overt Germanism on behalf of Hughes has been supplied by Missouri and even in this case the overtness and the Germanism are both more apparent than real. However these things may be, they are cited here simply as more or less intangible and impalpable elements which will pervade the atmosphere of the convention and affect the minds of the delegates. They are influences which will make for compromise, if they have any effect at all.

The Hughes movement is rather a peculiar one. Students of politics will remember that the first suggestions of the candidacy of Hughes came from the camp of the Rooseveltians. They did not think that the Colonel would be a candidate again and they thought that Hughes might be a means of getting the whole Republican party together, because of his never having given expression to opinions upon any of the living issues which would justify any considerable element in finding fault with him. The Rooseveltians reckoned that his negativism was, at the time, a positive strength. The suggestion of his candidacy, coming from the Bull-Moosers, was at first antagonized by the regulars and particularly by their party leaders. They did not think he would be a candidate and they were very solemn in their declaration that it would be a bad precedent to bring into the whirl of politics an occupant of the Supreme Bench. This stand-pat argument had apparent value for quite a long time. Roosevelt's friends were all talking Hughes, and Roosevelt's enemies were all damning Hughes with faint praise. Then, nobody knows exactly what happened; but the Hughes talk by Rooseveltians suddenly ceased. There was a sudden and uproarious demand that the Colonel be again a candidate. Some will say that the Colonel himself or his agents were the accelerators of this outburst of popular demand, but this is not demonstrable. The Colonel at least was rather shy about surrendering to the clamor in his own behalf. Up to about six weeks ago it was anything but certain that the Colonel would be a candidate again. Immediately however that the prospect of the Colonel's being again a candidate confronted the regulars they seized hold of the Hughes movement and appropriated it to themselves. They have since maintained an almost undisputed proprietorship thereof. They have suddenly discovered in his former reprehensible silence the evidences of great statesmanship. They have found that there is nothing undignified in the candidacy of a Supreme Justice for President. They have even discovered that he fought the bosses in New York in favor of the primary and against such iniquities as horse racing. They have had published in all the standpat newspapers pictures of the Chief Justice surrounded by a family of Rooseveltian proportions. They have found in his whiskers a virtue where before they had found nothing but a jungle for the hiding of bacteria. Hughes, an anti-stand-pat man if ever there was one, has suddenly become the idol of the standpatters. There has never been such an astonishing reversal of opinion in the history of American politics.

It is only fair to say that, latterly, Justice Hughes has been growing in strength, while Colonel Roosevelt has been weakening. Fate or Fortune has so favored President Wilson in his dealings with Germany and Mexico that

Roosevelt's tirades have been in the nature of a beating of the wind. The vote for Henry Ford in the primaries where his name was considered, while not enormous, was significant enough as showing that the Roosevelt programme or policy of rabid preparedness would likely be too much for the American people to swallow. When the Kaiser acceded to the demands of President Wilson with regard to the practice of submarine warfare, the Roosevelt claim that Wilson was guilty of "poltroonery" fell to the ground. When President Wilson put through his army reorganization bill another of the Roosevelt batteries was put out of action. Altogether the gallant Colonel is left somewhat in the attitude of *Don Quixote* in his attack upon the windmills. As between Hughes and Roosevelt it is not likely that the regular Republican convention at the Coliseum next week will nominate Roosevelt. Whether it will nominate Hughes depends entirely upon how the political leaders in states like New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana and Illinois size up the situation. If they think they can nominate a man other than Hughes or Roosevelt, preferably let us say a man from the center of the country like Sherman of Illinois, with any prospect of electing him, they almost surely will do it.

It is possible and not altogether improbable that the Colonel, with his genius for picturesque performance, may suggest or permit the occurrence of such a thing as the nomination of himself by the Progressive party before a nomination can be made by the regular Republicans. There will be no contest of delegations in the Progressive convention; no important difference of opinion with regard to the platform; no conflict as between the claims of rival candidates. The convention can be called to order, organized, resolutions passed and the Colonel nominated before the regular Republicans can get as far as the perfection of their permanent organization. This would be a master stroke—to hurl the Progressive nomination of Roosevelt into the midst of the Republican convention. It would be the traditional bundle of arrows signifying war. It would say to the Republican convention: "Nominate Roosevelt and the united party can win! Nominate anyone else and Roosevelt's candidacy will mean the re-election of Wilson!" Would the regular Republican convention surrender to a threat of this kind? It is hardly probable. Colonel Roosevelt certainly cannot believe that he can be elected president without the votes of the regulars. Equally certainly he must realize that if he runs again in opposition to the regular Republican candidate he will again elect to the presidency the man whose administration he has denounced with every resource of his inimitable vituperative vocabulary.

The gathering of the clans at Chicago presents a magnificent opportunity for the display of that form of political genius which is called compromise. Upon whom the compromise may bestow the nomination for the presidency no one can now prophesy. All that may be honestly said is that it does not seem probable either that the Hughes men will accept Roosevelt or the Roosevelt men will accept Hughes. Hughes might have a better chance of uniting all factions in opposition to the Democracy if he were not so much of an unknown quantity politically. It is probable that his candidacy would not command the support of the Roosevelt following. It is almost certain that the nomination of Roosevelt, with the prospect of a campaign of unexampled

verbal violence against a President who has kept us out of war, would revolt the regular Republicans who are patriots before they are partisans. A great political party cannot be expected to forgive a bolter and place him in its supreme commanding position. The Republicans and the Progressives alike must the more seriously consider the likelihood of agreement upon some candidate other than Hughes or Roosevelt if they want to take possession of the administration of this country. If they are honest they must want to defeat Wilson much more than they want to nominate either Roosevelt or Hughes. Who'll be the dark horse?

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Reflections

By William Marion Reedy

Let Us Keep Our Heads and Feet

IT is in order for people who have their feet on the ground to remember that there is a vast deal of mere campaign thunder in the preparedness agitation. Does anyone suppose there would be so much of it if we were not at the beginning of a presidential campaign? Of course not. It was "sprung" to put President Wilson in a hole. It has not succeeded. He has met the "springers" much more than half way, and so far as the thunder was theirs he has appropriated—"convey" the wise it call—the issue. The Administration has provided army reorganization and it will expand the navy, but it will not go into a naval orgy until it can find out what are the naval lessons of the war. This course is wise. There is no use building ships that may be obsolete. As for "conscription," the Administration is abreast of that issue too. We must have, it says, universal service on rather loose lines. The Administration brand of preparedness is all right. So that preparedness is not, properly speaking, an issue at all. The Great War won't last long now. We must consider our domestic problems. We are not going to elect a President for war, but for peace. The question is not preparedness. It is whether this country wants more of the Wilson policy—more stabilization of currency, a better credit system all around, especially for the farmer, a scientific adjustment of the tariff, an adequate merchant marine, a progressive course of trade and industrial regulation in accordance with the findings of various commissions and boards, river improvement, and so forth. These are the important things for Americans. The war issues are temporary, at least their acuteness is temporary, and we know for a fact that both parties are for meeting those issues sanely, coolly, without panic. Preparedness is in its more banal aspects a red herring drawn over the trail of pressing domestic questions. The issue is not whom we shall elect as President to do the *Bombastes Furioso* act, but whom we shall elect to keep this country going in the way of prosperity and peace. Let us not lose our heads or be swept off our feet. Let us consider good administration of our domestic affairs. That is the proper meaning of "America first." Let us not fight out the campaign on a temporary war flurry. The war will pass and with it the differences of opinion due to racial sympathies. Do we want four years more of Wilson or four years of what was going on before Wilson's election? Do we want to go ahead or to go back? Wilson has kept us out of war, headed for better times under better conditions. He has upheld our dignity and honor and kept the ship of state on an even

keel. The men who oppose him want to "rock the boat." It would be only simple prudence to leave Wilson in charge.

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It's All Done

SOME of the daily papers are announcing that the Democratic convention will be reported for them by various distinguished persons who can or cannot write. Such a waste of money. The elevator boy can do all the reporting there will be to do on the Democratic convention. There will be nothing to report. The convention will nominate Woodrow Wilson. The platform will be written by Woodrow Wilson. The speeches will be glosses upon the words and eulogies upon the deeds of Woodrow Wilson. The nominee for Vice-President will be the man wanted by Woodrow Wilson. The gathering will be all Wilson, except for a certain bland gentleman in, not of, the convention, sitting at a reporter's table taking notes—Mr. William Jennings Bryan. This man ran the convention and made the nominee at Baltimore four years ago. He was defeated for a place on the Nebraska delegation this year. But he is not "a dead one" for all that. He remains the only Democrat of truly national proportions other than Woodrow Wilson. And though he will say nothing in the convention here, his presence will be manifest otherwise than physically. The platform will be modified as it would not be if he did not exist.

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Let George Do It

"LET GEORGE DO IT"—meaning David Lloyd-George. He has undertaken the settlement of conditions in Ireland. Orangemen and Catholics, Liberals and Tories, all turn to "the little Welsh barrister" when there's a peculiarly difficult job to be done. When it was necessary to restrict drinking in England, Lloyd-George it was who had the nerve to "go up against the beerage" and clamp the lid on the "pubs." When Labor had to be pacified in its resentment against speeding up in munition-making, it was Lloyd-George who was the pacificator. But for him the workers might have stopped the supply of munitions. It was Lloyd-George who got the men to continue at work by increasing their pay and by taking the munition-making under government control. Lloyd-George adjusted the strikes in the shipyards. Lloyd-George, more than any other man, is responsible for the removal of organized labor's opposition to conscription. These are achievements greater than the winning of battles. If they had not been accomplished, there might have been a sorrier tale to tell of British bungling. What would Great Britain be to-day but for Lloyd-George? But for him the Cabinet had been ousted long ago. It was he who held the people in line for the Government. The man who put through the land tax budget and put old age insurance on the statute books, who settled the great railroad strikes was the only man in the Cabinet to whom the people were friendly. They knew him to be efficient. Others might bungle; he did not. When the war was being bungled he came out with the critics of the administration. But for him there might never have been any change in the supply of the army. He sided with Harmsworth against the army caste, and at the same time he told the workers what they had to do. He made enemies in both camps but he got results for England. And now he is called upon to bring about peace in Ireland between the Irish as well as peace between the Irish and the English. The Sinn Fein revolt was put down, but that does not end the difficulty. It only advertised the existence of conditions in Ireland which, if

not rectified, must wreck the empire. The rectification is a task second only to the carrying on of the war. Indeed, the ending of the war may turn upon it. Can the little Welshman do the job? He has not failed in anything yet. He made the first breach in the English land system. He unfanged the House of Lords. He brought Labor from opposition to support of war. If he can bring peace in Ireland—well, if he can do that, he may be the first president of the Republic of Great Britain, which we may see soon after, if not before, the end of the Great War.

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Missouri Republicanism

MR. NATHAN FRANK does a service for his party and the country in filing as a candidate for the Republican nomination for United States Senator for Missouri. Those members of that party who wish it to be represented by a man of brains should have such a chance as Mr. Frank's candidacy offers to vote for such a man as against a mere money bag like Mr. Dickey. Mr. Thomas J. Akins, another aspirant, is unobjectionable, save in so far as he is distinctively a politician, but Mr. Dickey is chiefly notable for having been made by Mr. Richard C. Kerens in the days of that gentleman's power, and deserting him when Mr. Kerens needed his support in the campaign for the Senatorship which, after a deadlock between Kerens and Niedringhaus, resulted in the choice of Major William Warner. Mr. Dickey has no distinction but his money. Mr. Akins has at least worked hard for his party. Mr. Frank, however, outclasses both these men in that he is of the statesman type. He is a noted lawyer. In commercial law he is without a rival in St. Louis. He has served a term in Congress and his service was brilliant and effective. I remember that he it was who presented the claims of St. Louis in Congress when that body was deciding the location of the Columbian Exposition. It was a powerful plea. As the owner of the newspaper property now known as the *Star*, Mr. Frank exerted for many years a powerful influence for good in the politics of St. Louis and Missouri. While he is a Republican, he is not one who views all problems as a partisan. For a Republican he is one of the most liberal men I know. He is more than a politician, a lawyer, a publicist—he is a humanist. But aside from his personal qualifications I should say his candidacy is to be commended because it will give to Republicans an opportunity to protest against recent performances by party representatives. The "turn down" of ex-Governor Hadley for chairman of the Missouri delegation to the Chicago convention was disgraceful. It was a foul blow to the only Republican in the State who had given the party any real standing before the country. That the trick seems to have been turned by the use of Weeks' money, only adds to the infamy of the proceeding. I don't mean to asperse the worthiness of Mr. Otto Stifel, who was chosen chairman in opposition to Governor Hadley, for his selection seems to have been determined on after, not before, the "rolling" of the ex-Governor, but I do think that the rollers made a mistake in selecting Mr. Stifel, prominent in the brewing industry, as calculated to weaken the party in the eighty-five dry counties out of the 114 counties of the State. This is as bad a piece of practical politics as was the declaration of leading Missouri Progressives in favor of Prohibition. Furthermore, for reasons plain to any disinterested outsider, the rollers of Hadley made a blunder when they started a boom for Mr. Charles Nagel for the vice-presidential nomination on the plain grounds of his supposed ability to cap-

ture the so-called German vote in this State. Both Mr. Stifel and Mr. Nagel are men out of sympathy with any such issue, but the effect of the Republican proceedings in which their names figure is shown in the condemnatory comment upon the action referred to. Party management that puts such obstacles in the way of party success, particularly at this time, will prove disastrous. It may prove disastrous to such good citizens as Mr. Stifel and Mr. Nagel. The party machine is responsible for the blundering. Mr. Nathan Frank is above and outside of the issues mistakenly injected into the Missouri campaign. He is dissociated from any implication in the liquor issue or the issue of the German vote. He is a Republican without qualification, standing for preparedness and for a tariff board to get the tariff out of politics. He is not a jingo or an imperialist. He is not a prohibitionist nor is he one who views the liquor question from the point of view of the man interested in the business. It is probable that a great many Republicans want a chance to vote for such a man for United States Senator. His independence of the cabals in the party is a strong recommendation. The hint of the methods whereby the Missouri delegation has been fixed is an unpleasant one. Mr. Frank is not mixed up in it. It is probable that to a greater or less extent, the other candidates for Senator are connected with it. He will not be subjected to scratching by the exasperated "dry" Republicans of the eighty-five dry counties and the other counties as well. He will not be scratched by those who believe, rightly or wrongly, that the party managers have been swept off their feet by a madness to get the German vote. And he will not be objectionable on the other hand to those who think Mr. Dickey should not be nominated for the Senate because he was born in Canada and is therefore anti-German. Such a campaign has been made against Mr. Dickey. Mr. Frank appears as a candidate solely as a Republican and an American, untangled in the liquor issue or the question of friendliness or enmity to Germany. He is not affected by the fact that Mr. Otto Stifel will be chairman of the Missouri delegation, as he would not have been had Governor Hadley been made chairman. He is not affected by the mention of Mr. Charles Nagel for vice-presidential honors. He is out of the muddle into which the party management has thrown the party's affairs. In the circumstances he should poll a tremendous vote for the senatorial nomination, even though the party leaders have apparently thrown away the good chance they had to carry the state this year.

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War Insurance

PRESIDENT WILSON'S outline of a policy for the institution and perpetuation of world peace is a proclamation to which all nations, and particularly the smaller nations, can subscribe. It is based upon the principle of the right of every nation to its own government and it proposes an agreement of nations to prevent violation of that right. Implied is force behind all the other nations to prevent that violation. I wonder that none of our statesmen has taken up the thought in Prof. Josiah Royce's book, "War and Insurance" (Macmillans, New York). He would, to summarize very briefly, have all the nations begin the movement towards peace by contributing to an international fund from which to provide for the repair of damage and the restoration and reconstruction of property after great disasters like flood, fire, cyclones, earthquakes. He would gradually extend the use of such a fund to the end of insuring the little countries against aggression. An aggressor party

to the pact would be mulct by its associate nations of the amount of injury done, so far as that might be computable. The nations would probably have to maintain an international army and navy on the principle of an underwriters' salvage corps in our American cities. The insurance fund taken out of taxes might be used to square such pecuniary accounts between nations as could not be settled otherwise. The nations should go into a mutual insurance company to minimize the possibility of war and its ravages. Any member that became recalcitrant could be punished by all the other countries. This is an exceeding rough draft of the proposal as set forth by Prof. Royce. Why cannot President Roosevelt or ex-President Taft tie up their permanent peace plans with this suggestion of war insurance? Pacifists should read Professor Royce's book. So should militarists and jingos. It contains the most practicable, the best plan for permanent and universal peace, brought out by the horror of the present war.

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Why is This?

Why cannot the United States deliver mail to its own Ambassadors? On April 27th there was mailed from the MIRROR office a piece of first-class mail addressed:

Whitlock, Brand
Legation of the U. S.,
Brussels, Belgium

The piece of mail matter came back May 23rd, marked "Undeliverable." Is Brand Whitlock lost? Is there no Legation of the United States at Brussels, Belgium? Why, if there be such a person as Brand Whitlock at the post to which he was accredited, is his mail undeliverable? Does the German government *pro tem* of Belgium determine what mail the United States Ambassador shall receive? Or does Great Britain hold it up? Why should not Mr. Whitlock receive his regular weekly copy of the MIRROR for which he subscribed three good American dollars? He has missed it before, though the paper was not returned in all instances. He says it is a great deprivation not to get the MIRROR. What is Uncle Sam going to do about such a state of affairs?

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Distinction and Difference

THERE be those who wonder we do not get hotter over the Allies' seizure of United States ships and opening of United States mail, why we don't call the Allies as hard as we called Germany for her methods of submarine warfare. It is because matters of ships and cargoes, matters of holding up and examining mails are such as can be settled according to law and can be adjudicated on a basis of pecuniary compensation. But we cannot go to law over the illegal taking of American lives. They cannot be compensated for by money. The slaughter of American citizens on their proper errands on the seas is not a question to be postponed for lawing. The slaughter must cease. As the New York Sun says, the difference in the two violations of United States rights is the difference "between highway robbery and highway murder."

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"Jim" Hill

THE late James J. Hill was truly an empire builder. He was indirectly a creator of values, of wealth. He brought the people to the land. Thus he developed the Northwest. In so far as he did this he deserves all the praise that is bestowed upon him, the venera-

tion that is paid his memory. He fell far short, however, of achieving justice in his work. His efforts did not secure to all the people the values they created. He took a large share of it for himself and his railroads. Much reward he was entitled to for his work, but not all that he received. He took too much rake-off and those to whom he disposed of lands took their rake-off too. Much as Mr. Hill did, the people did more. He served them so they might do what they did, but the people who merely held land he opened up to them, got entirely too much of the product of the labor of those who worked the land. He preempted land and its contents, without just title, then charged for access to the land, then passed on to those the right to charge others for the right to produce wealth. Of all the land value created by the people who poured into the Northwest, a few, comparatively, and Mr. Hill and his associates first, took possession. For all his public service he was a dog in the manger. The land belonged to all the people. Mr. Hill did not, and could not, own it. The land value was created by all the people in all their activities. It should have gone to the public treasury and not to Mr. Hill, the Great Northern or minor succeeding landlords. Largely, Mr. Hill was only a land speculator on a large scale. But that said, Mr. Hill was in another aspect a true producer, a real builder, a noble servitor of the people, according to his lights, somewhat smoky because of the social system. He was a rugged old soul, no sybarite, no self-indulger, a friend of education and of all liberty except true, to him undiscerned, economic liberty. He knew whence and how wealth came—from the application of labor to land. He did not know better than to believe that if one could get hold of land that gave one the right to exact of labor a heavy share of its product. He was not such a parasite as a Jay Gould or a Harriman or a Napoleon Ives. He did encourage the production of wealth by work. He was a constructive force, not a gambler—save in land. But land-gambling is the fundamental social and economic evil in civilization.

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HENRY FORD, in Detroit, and T. C. DuPont, in his town in Delaware, have warned the people against speculating in real estate on the theory that activity in making war supplies is going to mean an increase in population. The munition activities will subside. Land values will cease to jump. Speculation in land values is at the expense of all business and labor. Messrs. Ford and DuPont make a noise like the Single Tax.

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Will Cleveland Pass St. Louis?

I WAS in Cleveland for a few days recently. Everybody I met there took delight in telling me that Cleveland would pass St. Louis in the next census. And the lake town looks as if it may. Already it claims 750,000 population. And the Clevelanders will give you figures. For instance: On June 28, 1915, the clerk of the Board of Education submitted to the Board a detailed report of the school census just then completed. The total enumeration of persons of the school age for 1915 was 171,141. This, multiplied by $4\frac{1}{2}$ gives a total of 770,434. On a basis of four persons to each child of school age the figure would be 684,564. The school census is now being taken for 1916 and the figures will be ready some time next month. The festive Clevelanders are willing to bet any St. Louisan that this census will show St. Louis left at the post. The License Commissioners, who give

out one license for each 1,000 of the city population, multiplied this figure by 5 and got an estimate of 855,705—which is getting up where it threatens Chicago. The Chamber of Commerce made a report last year upon conditions of business and their relation to the community and this confirms Cleveland in the belief that its population is in the neighborhood of 750,000. All the Cleveland papers blaze with advertisements for workers of all kinds. The interurban railroads fill the town with people daily and both streets and stores are crowded. No St. Louisan can view the scenes in Cleveland, at her depots and docks, without realizing that the city of Tom Johnson may pass us as easily as it passed Cincinnati. There are no "for rent" signs such as pain the eye here. There is a mighty boom on in Cleveland and it is a manufacturing boom, not a real estate boom. It is the multiplication of pay-envelopes that is doing it. Now a great many people say St. Louis does not get ahead because it has too many reformers, because St. Louis is too illiberal with regard to its public utility corporations, because St. Louis is too much governed by the policies of the *Post-Dispatch*. Maybe so, but Cleveland has 3-cent street car fares and the city has a representative in the street car management. Its former representative, called a Traffic Commissioner or something like that, was Peter Witt, a protege of Tom L. Johnson. Witt ran for Mayor at the last election and was beaten by the preferential ballot. He is now employed in a managerial capacity by the Cincinnati street railway system. Cleveland has gone in for municipal lighting and has cut down the price of electricity. St. Louis has not done to its public utilities anything like what Cleveland has done. Yet Cleveland grows and St. Louis seems only to vegetate. If we think the *Post-Dispatch* is radical, we ought to have the *Cleveland Press*. It is away in front of the procession. It is a Scripps-McRae paper and a hot one—anti-big business, strongly Socialistic, for "the people" all the time. Beside the *Press* the *Post-Dispatch* is conservative and the *Press* bosses the City Hall and dominates public opinion even more completely than does the *Post-Dispatch*. The *Press* is run directly by a young man named Earle Martin, more remotely by a not much older man named Rickey. They run it proletarianly. It has no reverence for wealth or social position or big business opinion. It takes a smash at anything or anybody. Those who don't like it call it "yellow," but they buy it and don't oppose it if they can help it. The *Press* is probably the most profitable of the Scripps-McRae "string" of papers. Strange to say, St. Louis is the only city where the Scripps people ever started a paper and failed to make it a go. They founded the *Chronicle* in 1880 and they ran it until about 1905. It never caught on. It never seemed in touch with the town. It never made a dollar. Finally it was sold to E. G. Lewis, consolidated with the *Star* and was gradually sloughed off the title page. The Scripps could not compete with Pulitzer's paper here. Mrs. Milton McRae, of that syndicate, even undertook to run the *Chronicle* but could not make a success of it. But everywhere else the Scripps-McRae papers "make good." So I should not say that the *Post-Dispatch's* radicalism is one of the things that kill St. Louis. What kills St. Louis is St. Louisans. They don't put their money in St. Louis enterprises of a manufacturing character. They probably buy land here, but that does not help the city. The land-owner as such is a liability, not an asset. His landholding is a charge on the business of other people. And the landholder

is always against innovations and improvements. It's not the landlords that make a city, but the tenants. In which connection let me recall that Tom L. Johnson, who put Cleveland on the map, was the anti-landlord, anti-public service corporation Mayor of Cleveland for many years. His fights with the big interests did not stop Cleveland's growth. Newton Baker, now Secretary of War, followed Johnson's programme without paralyzing Cleveland. I think Johnson and Baker were good advertisements for Cleveland. And coming down to immediate explanation of Cleveland's growth, I believe that the interurban railroads mostly explain it. All Ohio can get into Cleveland quickly, cheaply. St. Louis has no interurban connections with Missouri and far too little with Illinois.

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Dirty Attack on Gardner

PROHIBITION is the king vice of our politics. It comes in to obstruct the progress of every reform. The Prohibitionist shrieks that every other movement must be postponed for his. No matter how worthy a candidate may be from forty other points of view, he is no good from the Prohibitionist standpoint if he is not for the ultimate of siccancy at once if not sooner. The Prohibitionists are fighting Col. Fred Gardner, Democratic candidate for the nomination for Governor of Missouri, because he is not committed to their cause. They abuse him for sending Christmas presents of eggnog to his customers in business, as if he ran a dive, a dump or a dead-fall. It matters not to them that if they should succeed—which they won't and can't—in defeating his nomination they would give over the Democratic party and the state to the custody of the discredited gang that has looted the school fund, pauperized the State University, defrauded convicts of pay for labor, and generally mismanaged State affairs. The Prohibitionists are willing to kill the Missouri land bank for the establishment of rural credit. They don't care for Col. Gardner's promise of a clean, gangless, law-enforcing, business administration of the State. They don't care that Col. Gardner's character is avouched by a dozen or more clergymen. These good things can go to hell, because Col. Gardner is not a Prohibitionist. The Prohibitionists are for any crook or boob who tips them the wink that he is with them. They are playing into the hands of politicians closer to the liquor interests than Col. Gardner ever was or could be. They exaggerate and distort facts in order to discredit a man who is not afraid of the plain facts. They turn the facts into lies. And yet these people masquerade as Christian leaders. They skulked in secret until it seemed Col. Gardner had the field beaten for the nomination. Then they came out to "head him off." They came out strong. Who supplies the funds? The influences interested in defeating Col. Gardner—the gangsters at Jefferson City, the school-fund looters, the fellows who have always opposed a land bank that will stop their grafting on the farmers. It is a dirty attack that is made on Col. Gardner and it comes from a dirty bunch. But the attack will fail and Col. Gardner will be nominated—and elected.

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Wiping Out the Vile Saloon

MR. AUGUST A. BUSCH, following the example of his father, has made a move that will help the much beset brewing business and promote good morals and government. He has written the Excise Commissioner of St. Louis that the Anheuser-Busch Brewing Association, of which he is president, will withdraw its sup-

port and its product from any saloon which the Excise Commissioner will declare to be operated in violation of the law or even in a manner offensive to the people of the neighborhood. The Excise Commissioner need not take away the saloon license, the police need not prosecute the saloonist. The Anheuser-Busch brewery will simply cut off its list of customers any saloon or saloonist whose unworthiness is reported to the office. It is supposed that other brewery concerns will follow suit. The result should be the disappearance of the lawless or otherwise objectionable saloon from this city. This should be followed by like action in other cities large and small. Nuisance saloons, girl-and-boy-traps, drink and gambling joints will vanish without brewery support. There will be no saloons in neighborhoods where public sentiment is against them. This will satisfy most people. There is no opposition to decently conducted saloons, only to saloons conducted in evasion of regulations, in violation of the decencies. Saloons will not be so many: they will be conducted by men of better character. There will be no need of prohibition. The scandal of vile saloons will cease to incite people to the extreme of sumptuary legislation. Mr. Busch's proposition is in accord with good morals and good business. It offers the right kind of co-operation with the excise authorities. It simplifies wonderfully the problem of the extermination of moral plague spots. It will remove obnoxious offenses to the public. It will give a standing to the decently conducted saloon. Nothing ever emanating from the brewery interest has been of as much value as an obstruction of prohibition confiscation has been of as much worth at once to the brewery interest and clean civic ideals as the proposition of Mr. Busch to the St. Louis Excise Commissioner. The brewers of the United States should follow where Mr. Busch leads. By doing so they will save themselves and countless others and prevent the calamity of suppressing what Cecil Chesterton calls "Christian drinking."

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Prof. Hyslop vs. Patience Worth

By W. M. R.

WHEN the writings of Patience Worth were first made public it was naturally supposed that they would be subject to fierce attack by orthodox religionists who believe that spiritism is either a fake or a manifestation of the devil. It was not expected that the writings or the methods of those communicating the writings to the world would be assailed by one who is known everywhere as a believer not only in the possibility, but in the actuality of communications between the dead and the living. From a spiritist standpoint, Professor Hyslop delivers a tremendous attack on the book introduced and compiled by Mr. Casper S. Yost—"Patience Worth: a Psychic Mystery" (Henry Holt, New York). Professor Hyslop's review of the book appears in the current issue of the *Journal of Psychological Research*. The Professor indulges in some rather strong language for a cool-minded scientist, as he professes to be. So far as I am interested in the Patience Worth phenomena—and that is only in so far as the communications are good literature—the great psychological researcher is not at odds with anything I have said on the subject in the MIRROR. He admits that Patience Worth's writings in the book in question are good literature and deserve reading on that account alone. Professor Hyslop finds fault with Mr. Yost's introduction and comment.

They are not scientific enough for him. My judgment of both was that they were too wholly acceptive of the spirit theory of the communication; too Hyslopian, I might say. According to the article in the psychical research journal, Mr. Yost does not go deeply enough into the history of Mrs. Curran, through whom the Patience Worth communications come. He says Mr. Yost does not tell enough about Mrs. Curran's reading. He does not believe that Mr. Yost has made allowances for the possibilities of subconscious memory. There are other suggestions in Professor Hyslop's article much more ugly than these and no better sustained. Mrs. Curran is not an illiterate, ignorant woman. She has done very considerable reading. It shows in her ordinary speech. Anyone may know it by even a casual glance at the bookcases in the parlor where the Patience Worth communications are delivered over the ouija board. It is not now, and never has been, asserted that Mrs. Curran is a woman without any literary mental deposit whatever. Her father wrote well and was well read. Professor Hyslop thinks that Mr. Yost should have told in his introduction that Mrs. Curran had read Chaucer and discussed him with her husband. I don't see what bearing this would have had on the subject. Familiarity with Chaucer or even with Piers' Plowman would not equip anybody to do the Patience Worth writing. There is no more Chaucer in Patience Worth than there is Patience Worth in Chaucer. Professor Hyslop writes himself down no philologist when he conveys the impression that the Patience Worth writings are a mosaic of archaisms. This is not true. The archaisms, the obsolete and obsolescent words in the writings are very few in number. What Professor Hyslop does not understand is that the language in which Patience Worth writes is a language which she has constructed for herself out of simple Saxon root-words. It is as much an individual language as the one invented by Chatterton in the Rowley poems, or by Mr. James Boswell's friend, George Psalmanazar. The modern neologisms in the writings are but little more numerous and frequent than the archaisms upon which Professor Hyslop lays so much stress. That there are some words used in the writings which are of a later date than the supposed or alleged date of Patience Worth's existence on earth is true. This has never been denied by the Currans or anyone who has studied the phenomenon. Professor Hyslop to the contrary notwithstanding, the Patience Worth writings and the manner of their receipt have been examined by scientific men trained in psychology. They have also been examined philologically. Not only that, but men who have examined the writings have not been deceived as to the extent of the reading of either Mr. or Mrs. Curran. The Currans are intelligent people; people indeed of very much more than ordinary intelligence—although this last phrase is such a banality. Professor Hyslop calls attention to the appearance of the name *Patience Worth* in Mary Johnston's novel, "To Have and to Hold." This was referred to in one of the MIRROR articles setting forth the Patience Worth writings. The name was not discovered there until long after the Patience Worth communications had begun. If Mrs. Curran or Mr. Curran read Miss Johnston's novel they surely had forgotten this name, Patience Worth, which occurs but once in that very interesting tale. Professor Hyslop is grieved that Mrs. Curran would not submit to hypnosis at the hands of Professor Morton Prince of Boston. Mrs. Curran very frankly stated her reason for this refusal; that she did not care to submit herself to a condition,

A Night in Limehouse

By Thomas Burke

THE grey towers were tolling three o'clock, and the thick darkness of the waterside covered the night like a blanket. Captain Chudder slept, breathing stertorously, mouth open, limbs heavy and nerveless. His room was deeply dark, and so little light shone on the back reaches of the Gill street cottages that the soft raising of the window made no visible aperture. Into this blank space something rose from below, and soon it took the shape of a flat yellow face which hung motionless, peering into the room. Then a yellow hand came through, the aperture was widened, and swiftly and silently a lithe yellow body hauled itself up and slipped over the sill.

The Chinaman glided from the window with outstretched hand; the feeling fingers searched the bed calmly, methodically, until they found that which they sought; then from some hiding-place withdrew a krese and held it poised. It was long, keen, and beautifully curved, but not a ray of light was in the room to fall upon it, and the yellow finger had to feel the bright blade to find whether the curve ran from or towards the bed.

Then, with terrific force and speed, it came down: one—two—three. The last breath rushed from the open lips. Captain Chudder was out.

The strong yellow hand withdrew the krese for the last time, wiped it on the coverlet of the bed, replaced it in its home and the Chinaman turned for the window. He found, in a moment of panic, that he knew not which way to turn. Stretching a hand to the wall, Sung Dee began to creep and to feel his way along. Dark as the room was, he had found his way in. Why could he not find his way out? Why was he afraid?

Blank wall was all he found at first. Then his hand touched what seemed to be a picture-frame. It swung and clicked, and the noise seemed to echo through the still house. He moved farther, and a sharp rattle told him that he had struck the loose handle of the door. But that was of little help. He could not use the door; he knew not what perils lay behind it. It was the window he wanted—the window. . . .

The middle of the room he judged, and took another step forward, a step which landed his chin sharply against the jutting edge of the mantelshelf over the fireplace. He jumped like a cat, and his limbs shook, for now he had lost the door and the bed as well as the window, and had made terrible noises which might bring disaster. All sense of direction was gone. He knew not whether to go forward or backward, to right or left. He heard the tinkle of the shunting trains, and he heard a rich voice crying something in his own tongue. But he was lapped around by darkness and terror, and a cruel fancy came to him that he was imprisoned here forever and forever and that he would never escape from this enveloping, suffocating room. He began to think that—

And then a hot iron of agony rushed down his back as, sharp and clear at his elbow, came the Captain's voice:

"Get forrard, you damn Chink—get forrard! Live-ly there! Get out of my room!"

He sprang madly aside from the voice that had been the terror of his life for so many weeks and collided with the door, and dashed away from it and crashed into the bed, fell across it and across the warm, wet body that lay there. Every nerve in every limb of him was seared with horror at the contact, and he leapt off, kicking, biting, writhing. He leapt off and fell against a table, which tottered and at last fell with a stupendous crash into the fender.

"Lively, you damn Chink!" said the Captain.

"Lively, I tell yeh. Dance, d'yeh hear? I'll have yeh for this. I'll learn you something. I'll give you something with a sharp knife and a bit of hot iron, my cocky. I'll make yer yellow skin crackle, yeh damn, lousy chopstick. I'll have yeh in a minute. And when I get yeh! Orf with yeh clothes. I'll cut yeh to pieces, I will."

Sung Dee shrieked. He ran round and round, beating the wall with his hands, laughing, crying, jumping, while all manner of shapes arose in his path, lit by the grey light of fear. He realized that it was all up now. He cared not how much noise he made. He hadn't killed the old man; only wounded him. And now all he desired was to find the door and any human creatures who might save him from the captain. He met the bed again, suddenly, and the tormentor who lay there. He met the upturned table and fell upon it, and he met the fireplace and the blank wall; but never, never the window or the door. They had vanished. There was no way out. He was caught in that dark room, and the Captain would do as he liked with him. . . . He heard footsteps in the passage, and sounds of menace and alarm below. But to him they were friendly sounds, and he screamed loudly toward them.

He cried to the Captain in his pidgin for mercy.

"Oh, Captain—no burn me to-day, Captain. Sung Dee be heap good sailor, heap good servant, all same slave. Sung Dee heap plenty solly hurt Captain. Sung Dee be good boy. No do feller bad lings no feller more. Oh, Captain. Let Sung Dee go lis time. Let Sung Dee go. Oh, Captain!"

And now those below came upstairs; and they listened in the passage, and for the space of a minute they were hesitant. For they heard many terrible noises, and by the noises there might have been half a dozen men in the Captain's room. But very soon the screaming and the pattering feet were still, and they heard nothing but low moans; and at last the bravest of them, the Captain's brother, swung the door open and flashed a large lantern.

And those who were with him fell back in dumb horror, while the brother cried harshly: "Oh! . . . my . . . God!" For the lantern shone on a Chinaman seated on the edge of the bed. Across his knees lay the dead body of the Captain, and the Chink was fondling his damp dead face, talking baby talk to him, dancing him on his knee, and now and then making idiot moans. But what sent the crowd back in horror was that a great death-white parrot was flapping about the yellow face of the Chink, cackling: "I'll learn yeh! I'll learn yeh!" and dragging strips of flesh away with every movement of the beak.

From the New Witness.

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To Julia Marlowe

ON HER FAREWELL TO THE STAGE

By Thomas S. Jones, Jr.

THERE is a place where perfect things do dwell,
And always lovely in their golden prime;
With youth that knows not parting nor fare-
well,

They stand untouched above the surge of time.

Here all the treasures of the world remain,
All beauty that the years may not destroy,
Guarded forever in this sacred fane—
Giving forever of their wealth of joy.

Can you then dream that you may now depart,
You who have been a poet's dream come true,
You who have quickened with your watchless art
His wondrous women that we know as you!

Rather you well may say through life's long range:
"No, Time, thou shalt not boast that I do change."

From the New York Times.

one of the consequences of which might be her loss of a power from which she obtains so much mental and spiritual gratification. That Mrs. Curran lived in the Ozark mountains where there still linger many of the locutions of the seventeenth century is thoroughly well known. On at least one occasion the meaning of a strange word was unknown to everybody who studied the manuscript, until Mr. Curran recalled it as a part of speech which he had heard years before in the Ozark region. Professor Hyslop seems to imply that Mr. Holt edited Mr. Yost's comment upon the Patience Worth poems with a view to eliminating all evidence that might tend to support other than spiritistic explanations of the writing. This is not true. So far as Mr. Holt had anything to do with Mr. Yost's comment, his editorial action had a tendency to eliminate elements tending to give the comment too much of a flavor of acceptance of spiritistic origin. It seems to me that when Professor Hyslop uses such language as this: "the publisher has only joined with the original parties to perpetrate a fraud on the community," he goes beyond the license of either literary criticism or scientific analysis. I do not believe that there is a spirit called Patience Worth. I am as strongly convinced as one possibly could be that the beautiful thoughts and language which come through Mrs. Curran's officiation at the ouija board, come from her subconscious self, or telepathically from those around her, and not from a separate entity. This, it seems to me, Mr. Casper Yost does not believe. I am pretty sure that neither Mr. nor Mrs. Curran agrees with me. I cannot conceive of anything possible in this world that would convince me of actual communication between the dead and the living. I am as uncompromisingly anti-spiritistic as Professor Hyslop is comprehensively credulous in that respect. I say this only to indicate that it is from no prejudice in favor of the position taken by Mr. Yost or the Currans that I express my faith in their good faith as against the insinuations and accusations of Professor Hyslop of the Society for Psychical Research. Nothing true that Professor Hyslop says openly or by insinuation concerning Mrs. Curran and her relation to the Patience Worth phenomenon has been concealed by Mr. or Mrs. Curran. The facts of Mrs. Curran's reading, of her residence in the Ozark region where archaic seventeenth century words still live, of her association in early life with spiritist preachers, of the occurrence of modern neologisms in the writings have never been concealed. Her refusal to submit to hypnosis by Professor Prince was widely published at the time it occurred. No person who has made any study of the Patience Worth words and works has been put off, no matter what line of investigation his inquiries took. So far as I have knowledge of the Patience Worth "mystery" and those immediately connected therewith, I feel justified in saying that Professor Hyslop's review of the book in the current issue of the *Journal of Psychical Research* is a wanton and only too probably a malicious attack unjustified by the facts of the case. I do not believe that the best work of Patience Worth appears in the book edited by Mr. Yost. I do not accept so far as Mr. Yost does, the idea that there is an entity separate from Mrs. Curran called Patience Worth. I am not interested in the "spook" feature of the work at all. I do know, however, that everybody identified with the communications and the publication has dealt fairly, openly and above board with everybody who has made any pretense of investigating the phenomenon.

Letters From the People

My Right to Employ a Quack

Editor of Reedy's Mirror:

I am amazed, with an amazement beyond my power of expression, at your attitude towards "State Medicine." If now you advocate State Religion I shall not be more astonished, for one is no more subversive of liberty than the other.

You say, "Operations cost money. Most people have no money. Shall they die for that?"

Your intimations seem to be that "operations" save life. I don't know how it is in St. Louis, but here in Denver, judging from the numerous newspaper headings, "Following an Operation," is the most common mode of dying. It is not at all uncommon to see three such cases in one day.

"We shall have more doctors rather than fewer." Alas and alack, how true. And to think we must furnish victims for them all. Since the individuals don't do it fast enough, the State must take a hand.

"State medicine should mean * * * the extirpation of the quack and the charlatan."

Of course, that's what it's for. Burn the heretics, by all means. Our craft is in danger.

A long time ago in New York City I saw a quack take a victim of Bright's disease who was bloated so that he looked more like a barrel than a man, and cure him after the regulars had given him up. I heard a noted specialist, of the class you seem to think so admirable, declare "there wasn't a possible chance for the man. Albumen, etc., etc.—all the tests proved it." Yet the man got well. He was in good health many years after and may be yet, so far as I know.

If I want to employ a quack I have as good a right to do so as ever a heretic had to seek counsel of a dissenting minister, and it seems incredible that William Marion Reedy would be among those who want to deny me that right.

Are you joking, Mr. Reedy? Can you really mean all that stuff about State medicine?

I am glad Louis Albert Lamb gets after the medical tyrants in such fine shape.

CELIA BALDWIN WHITEHEAD.
Denver, Colo., May 23, 1916.

God Save the Doctors!

May 24, 1916.

Editor of Reedy's Mirror:

That we need State medicine is shown in Dr. Stewart's suggestion that the city should provide a dental clinic for the care of the teeth of children whose parents are not able to afford dental attention. I'll boil down a *Post-Dispatch* editorial just to back up your "Reflection" of last week. The report of the Board of Education showing that, on an average, 50 pupils are given free dental care by the St. Louis University dental college each week proves the need of a municipal clinic. The work is so exacting that it should not be made an imposition on any voluntary or private institution.

Not long ago the Department of Hygiene found, using an average based

upon an examination of the mouths of 846 children, that probably 73,500 pupils of the public schools suffer from defective teeth. This means that large numbers of children who cannot afford dental attention and for whom volunteer care is insufficient, must suffer the loss of teeth and the dangers of disease that accompany decayed teeth, unless the city supplies the need. Here ends the P.D.

But say the M. Ds., "If people can't pay doctors, let 'em die. Doctors must live. The State must not take their bread and butter." The sick were made for the doctors, eh, not the doctors for the sick. Go to it, for State medicine.

A DOCTOR TOO.

A Jewish Protest

St. Louis, May 29, 1916.

Editor of Reedy's Mirror:

Surrounded as he is by so many examples of the heroic struggles of Jewish immigrants from which to select stories of devotion to family life and ideals of various kinds, it is more than passing strange that Oscar Leonard should have

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No. 1 is a fine Voile Waist with a square collar and full ruffle-jabot; deep fancy cuffs. Trimmed with Val. lace insertion and edging; sizes 34 to 44. Sale price \$4

No. 2 is another fine Voile Waist and has an elaborate front of Venise and Val. lace combined with embroidered bands; tucked back also trimmed with Val. insertion. It has long, fancy-trimmed sleeves and organdy collar with Val. insertion and edging; sizes 34 to 44. Sale price \$3.45

No. 3 is a white Crepe Georgette Waist, and has large rever-jabot and collar; trimmed with a scalloped edge of colored taffeta, hemstitched; fancy cuffs; choice of Joffre blue, rose or flesh color. Sale price \$5

No. 4 is a colored-striped Voile Waist in semi-tailored effect. It has large Byron collar and deep cuffs of white voile with hemstitching in the corners; finished with pearl buttons; choice of navy, rose or lavender; sizes 34 to 44. Sale price \$5



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written the story, "A Job at Any Price," published in the MIRROR of May 26. Indeed, from Mr. Leonard's position as sociological and philanthropic conservator of the interests of the Jews of St. Louis, that he should have gone out of his way to depict a little Jewish girl as a liar and a cheat seems unbelievable. He sub-heads his narration as "A True Story," which, no doubt, it is; but right here comes the vital difference between truth and facts which makes the sketch a slander and a baseless creation for prejudice against the Jews in general.

The moral of the story is bad; the thing is a reflection on a whole people, no matter whether so intended or not. It is really an amazing performance, and though done most surely without malice, it has the ear-marks to those who might not know the writer's position and gen-

eral attitude, of being a direct and even vicious insult to the Jews.

No one merely reading this sketch could believe that its author had anything but evil toward the Jews in his heart. Of course, Mr. Leonard's attitude is generally known to be otherwise. But accepted at face value, the story is mischievous, to say the least.

Many who read a story of this kind get their viewpoints about Jews from their general reading. They immediately say, "The little liar, she makes department store managers suspicious of all others." This makes people talk of the "Jew trick" in business; the "lying shrewdness" of the Jews to excel in money-making.

That this story is true I will not question. But why its selection? What motive animated the author? Was he

trying to advise business men against employing Jewish girls? Such a thought is inconceivable, most especially in the case of a man in charge of work requiring him to aid these young women to become self-supporting. Was he trying to tell business men to continue to employ help they found to have lied and deceived them? What can the publication of such a story benefit anyone? Surely it can only harm the Jews, who have enough without such pernicious inference being brought to attention.

Whether *Esther Margolises* are rare or common is not at issue; but their depiction in story form without excuse or seeming object is bad, and unthinkably harmful. These little pebbles thrown into the waters of magedinodm radiate to the shores of eternity. The pebble itself is insignificant, but the evil done cannot be measured.

The sketch is slight and rather threadbare, so that literary merit cannot atone for the sin of poor taste, to use the mildest term. The fact, however, that it has what is commonly known as "punch" (though of the wrong kind), makes the offence even more flagrant.

I have always admired Mr. Leonard and his work. He was, and I hope still is, a friend of mine, but this does not palliate or mitigate his lack of judgment in this instance or detract from my sentiment of repugnance or my feeling of resentment at his action.

It is a pity that Mr. Leonard, knowing better, should have been thoughtless enough to perpetrate such an inferential aspersion as this story. Such a characterization goes out of the way to hurt innocent and worthy people. Had there been a good moral or some fine lesson to be drawn from such work, it would have all been different; but there was nothing of the kind. And Oscar Leonard has not yet reached a point where his literary ability will in anywise make up for the exposition of such facts as tend to malign a whole people.

Very truly,
MONTEFIORE BIENENSTOK.

What's the Matter, Etc.

St. Louis, May 25, 1916.

Editor of *Reedy's Mirror*:

While standing at the desk in the Jefferson the other day I heard a guest ask the clerk for the City Directory. He came back in a minute and said, "I want to see a 1916 directory." The clerk had to tell him there was no such thing yet published—though half of the year has flown.

It was a graphic illustration of the state of unconsciousness in which we St. Louisans live.

Is there any valid excuse for the publishers of Gould's City Directory waiting until the year is well gone before they get out their directory?

In heaven's name, don't decry Mr. Festus J. Wade and other men who try to wake us up when such glaring things as this exist. We need more prods and fewer excuses for shortcomings.

TRAVELING MAN.

Dr. Ben Reitman's Jail Life

Queens County Jail,
Long Island City, N. Y., May 26.
William Marion Reedy:
My dear Editor—Since your paper

has taken to printing letters from convicts, I hope you will allow me to correct several wrong impressions that your readers may have gotten from Emma Goldman's letter.

Miss Goldman had a reputation and

a record so they handled her with kid gloves. In court she was treated like a lady. In jail she was treated like a distinguished person. All the while she was here, every matron was told, "Look out! be careful what you do or say."

And for two weeks the female prisoners had the time of their life.

When I arrived at the jail, the keeper said, "What kind of work do you do?"

I looked him in the eye and said, "I am a poet and agitator."

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Jail is a poor place to learn things or to reform. Punishment is gone—exploitation is the key-note of the modern jail. Rob the worker of his labor. The Taylor system is at work. Get the convict dressed and fed and to his work as soon as possible.

Feed him scientifically and cheaply, house him comfortably, give him fresh air and light and baths and exercise.

When he is not at work, keep him locked up, so you will not have to watch him.

This martyr business will help Birth Control and it develops muscle for a world without prisons.

BEN L. REITMAN, M. D.

Terms of Peace

By Roland G. Usher

Author of "Pan-Germanism" and "The Challenges of the Future"
(From the New York Sun)

Both coalitions have, without a dissenting voice, been in favor of peace ever since the war began—on their terms. Both of them unquestionably feel the same way about it now.

The terms which the German Chancellor proposed in his recent speech, which Mr. Asquith and Mr. Masterman of the British Government have hinted at, as well as those which have been described at greater length in the various periodicals of all countries, rest upon the assumption of a final sweeping victory for one side or the other and the exaction from the vanquished of the very last ounce of flesh which the victor might find useful. According to their present declarations they mean to carve out of each other after the war enough decidedly to enfeeble the vanquished.

The one says, German militarism must be destroyed; the other says that the British control of the seas must come to an end. The one says, Belgium must be compensated for her suffering; the other insists that the true aspirations of the minor nationalities, like Poland and Turkey, must be satisfied. There seems to be no reasonable doubt, however, that unless the war is a very long war, neither side will be able, after the victory, to exact any such terms of peace as their official spokesmen have described.

Nor is it desirable, in view of the future, that either coalition should succeed in such extreme demands as they are now declaring satisfactory. They will lay up the seeds of future war, because in each case they are completely disregarding national ambitions and the defensive claims of the other side. What we are really interested in is the compromise which will eventually appear and how much the Allies will be willing to concede to a vanquished Germany.

They cannot, and they know it well, destroy Germany without laying waste the land and murdering its inhabitants,

for Germany is neither kaisers nor empires nor political communities. It consists of between sixty and seventy millions of souls and their homes and factories, and so long as those remain Germany will be there.

In the same sense Germany cannot wipe out England without destroying the country, and it is no more to her interest to do that than it is to England's to lay waste the Rhine Valley. There will be no settlement, in other words, which does not accept the existence of both nations as desirable and which in addition does not produce a sense of security throughout Europe for the vanquished as well as for the victor.

In that one word we have the sum of the terms which the Allies will accept—security. But we need to define that term and be explicit about provisions which can be written down in a settlement and executed by such political and military entities as will win the war.

For England security means positive assurance of the continued stream of supplies and raw materials for her factories upon which her life depends. It is difficult to see that anything can be satisfactory to her short of preponder-

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ant control of the seas. Her contact with the outside world cannot be made certain without an English fleet predominant in European waters.

Her security from invasion again depends upon keeping Belgium out of German hands as a military or naval factor and also upon the territorial integrity and continued national strength of France. This rates at a minimum the moral obligation which the English feel to Belgium.

The minimum which will spell security for France, so long as a German army exists, is the cession to France of the strategic positions in French Lorraine. The whole of the two old provinces of Lorraine and Alsace is not a military necessity for France, but the city of Metz and the strip of territory



running northwest from it are indispensable.

The French know that, so long as they themselves continue their national existence and Russia continues to grow in numbers, the Germans will not feel

safe without some defensive army, and for the French, a people of only 40,000,000, even a defensive army of a people nearly twice as numerous is a serious thing. They will therefore expect to exact from Germany, as a price of their continued recognition of Germany's right to defend herself by an army, the cession to France of all those strategic positions which, in the present war, give the Germans so very decided an advantage. The weak man must hold the natural advantages against the strong man.

For Russia security is less a military than an economic factor. She will demand certainly an increase of privilege at Constantinople sufficiently extensive to enable her to prevent the closing of the Dardanelles to her commerce, but which would not necessarily require the Germans to recognize her political con-

trol of Turkey. No doubt, too, she will insist upon the restoration of the boundary line before the war between German and Russian Poland. Warsaw in the hands of the Germans does threaten both Moscow and Petrograd. It may be, too, that the Russians would want the port of Danzig, which is more favorably situated than Riga and does not freeze in winter.

The allies of the Allies will present one of the most difficult features of the treaty of peace. They have unquestionably been promised very considerable concessions, which it may be extremely difficult to procure for them. There can be no reasonable doubt that if concessions have to be made by the Allies they will make them at the expense of those friends who joined them with such highly utilitarian intentions and after such very considerable periods of hesitation. They will not feel the same responsibility to Italy and Greece that they feel to Belgium.

The most that Italy can hope for is probably the Trentino, or perhaps a part of the Trentino. To deliver Trieste into her hands would be to take from Austria her only access to the Mediterranean, a commercial necessity, as the Austrians believe, which they will yield only after a defeat which otherwise entails the disruption of Austria.

Serbia will certainly get Albania, which she has long coveted, and the wished for approach to the sea; that is to say, assuming that there is anything left of the Serbians after the war is over. Italy might not improbably be further rewarded with the commercial penetration of the new Serbia.

Greece expects to receive the greater part of Turkish Thrace, which is predominantly Greek in population, and which would thus give Greece the greater part of the littoral of the Aegean. If they could add also the islands in the Aegean they would secure the most they could expect, although nothing short of the geographical extent of ancient Greece in Asia Minor would probably fill their cup to overflowing.

What would happen to Bulgaria is a difficult question to answer. Probably she would be robbed of Macedonia, which would be divided between Serbia and Greece, and perhaps lose a further strip of land to Rumania, whose increased strength would make her a more useful bulwark against Russia in Constantinople.

German schemes in Asia Minor and the Bagdad Railroad would in all probability have to be left intact, and it might be that additional concessions would be made to the Germans in Africa. One upon which the Allies looked very favorably before the war was the permission to dominate the Belgian Congo and Portuguese Africa.

Whether the German territory in the Pacific can be restored is highly doubtful. In all probability the end of the European war will see an immensely strong Japanese Power and the union against it of all the European Powers, who will bury their European enmities and work together to re-establish their political and economic interests in Asia.

It is highly important to note the peculiar character of the compromise which such terms of peace as these include. There is reason to believe that

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before the war the Allies were willing to have made a settlement with Germany very closely in accordance with these propositions, and that fact furnishes the strongest reason to believe that something of this sort will be satisfactory to the Allies after the war, although they will naturally expect to exact something from Germany as a sort of additional security, and perhaps as a penalty for having fought the war.

The gist of the settlement rests in the fact that the British fleet as a defensive arm is confirmed and the German fleet as an offensive arm is forced to remain under its present disadvantages. On the other hand, the German army as a defensive arm would be tacitly recognized, but the strategic positions which made its offensive strength so formidable would be taken out of its hands and put into the control of France and Belgium.

This, to be sure, would definitely threaten Cologne, Essen and the German Rhine, but the greater size of Germany, its increased unity, its very great efficiency ought to make it feel secure as against a country as much smaller as France. Under the circumstances the French can hardly take the offensive against Germany, even in connection with a Russian invasion from the east. But with an increase of Russian privilege in Constantinople the main purpose of Russian interference with western Europe is conceded.

Again, while the position of Germany in western Europe is sufficiently weakened to make England, France and Belgium feel secure, the physical strength of Germany, which all western Europe feels to be a necessary barrier against undue Russian ambition, will not be diminished. So, too, while the full extent of German ambition in the Orient and Mediterranean will thus be denied, a very real extension of opportunities will be provided in Asia Minor and Africa, and an additional extent of privilege can be accorded in South America.

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Kitty Comes In

By W. M. R.

In a recent play contest for prizes offered by the management of the Park theater of this city the judges awarded the first honor to a four-act comedy entitled, "Kitty Comes In," written by Miss Leila Chopin Hattersley, a daughter of the late Kate Chopin, whose novels of creole life in Louisiana were the most distinguished American works of fiction of twenty-five years ago and are even now not only pleasantly remembered, but generally read.

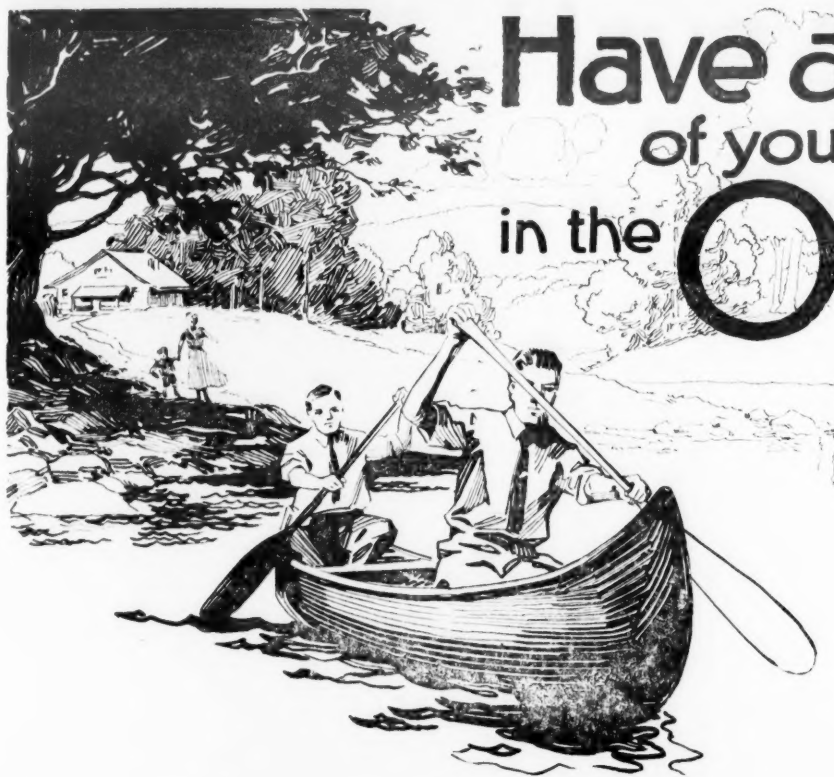
The prize play is being performed, and very well performed, at the Park theater this week. The production justifies the decision of the judges. While the play has defects, they are not irremediable. About all that is needed to make this comedy a great success is an elaboration of its scenes. It is too short according to our present standards of time measurement of plays. But brevity is not an unpardonable crime at the very worst. The play is thoroughly clean, simple and natural. No sex—thank God! The dialogue is neither stilted nor strained. The action is spontaneous and requires no effort whatever. The motive of the play is a thoroughly harmonious one and the scheme works out into a very pleasant demonstration of the ultimate decency of things.

A candidate for governor called upon at midnight by his ward is visited at the same time by a newspaper reporter of a hostile paper and the ward is discovered. The candidate in his excitement declares that he has married the girl. Forthwith he does marry her and sends her down to a place in the country. Meanwhile, he has other complications—enough to keep him busy. His manager—a political crook—and a labor agitator of the semi-comic type, provide the political color. It is necessary to the candidate's interest that the labor vote be secured for him. This the labor agitator can bring about. The political manager intervenes to provide the strong scene, when he is discovered attempting to kiss the innocent young bride. The manager threatens to knife the candidate at the polls. The innocent bride innocently enough induces the labor agitator, for a perfectly good reason, to bring about the endorsement of her husband by the labor element. In the course of all these occurrences the candidate discovers that he really loves the girl he has married as a desperate expedient, and the little wife discovers that she loves him. The election turns out satisfactorily, the candidate congratulates himself upon his success without sacrificing his ideals, and everything is lovely and charming. There is a sophisticated daughter of a worldly mother, who brings in a little villainess note when she sympathizes with the candidate for his unfortunate marriage and proffers her own love. The guileless bride is deluded by this wise but wicked daughter of the world into an attempt to leave her husband, but is discovered. The clarification of this situation synchronously with the winning over of the labor agitator and the labor vote makes up a well-rounded story. The dialogue is good, there are many laughs in it, and the points are so clear that

they get over to the audience in every instance.

Altogether, "Kitty Comes In," carefully worked over, with some more of the flesh of conversation and action disposed upon the skeleton of the scenario, should evolve into a whole—some play of as universal an appeal as, let us say, "Peg o' My Heart." Mrs. Hattersley is to be congratulated upon her excellent literary performance. Doubtless the objections to the drama, intimated here, would not have been necessary if the play had not been hastily prepared for the contest in which it won the capital prize. Audiences of much more than ordinary critical acumen have witnessed the performances at the Park theater and the verdict has been one of unanimous approval of the good taste of the judges in the contest. The critics of the daily newspapers found about the same faults that are

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and moving in the climax of her part where she discloses herself in somewhat of the traditional attitude of the adventuress. Miss Minnie Potter's portrayal of a society leader is of unique interest because of its Futuristic aspects. She imparts to the character of the *grand dame* some rather anachronistic characteristics of the conventional old maid of the stage and overdoes it. The result is a rather startling grotesque out of place. Of course, Mr. Mitchel Harris in the leading male role is romantically interesting and most commend-

indicated in this article but agreed in the main that the play is a high-class production characterized by grace, flexibility, wit, humor, good taste and general kindly appreciation of life. It need surprise nobody if the play, "Kitty Comes In," should eventually attain to a much larger success than the local one it is having at the Park theater this week.

A word about the actors in the play. Miss Elsie Hitz in the role of *Kitty* is the incarnation of ingenuousness. She carries off the role with indescribable charm. Marie Prather almost, if not quite, divides the honors with Miss Hitz through her acting of the part of *Margery*, a very up-to-date, cigarette-smoking young girl who displays a fine spirit, rare talent and a very interesting glimpse of green pantalettes. Vessie Farrell is attractive and imposing, and, for a few brief minutes, very interesting

able for the clarity of his enunciation and the freedom of his gestures. Mr. Henry Hull as an Hibernian labor leader is fearful and wonderful. His dialect is unintelligible and his manoeuvrings marvelously out of character. Nevertheless he means well and the audience takes him at his meaning. The other members of the company are highly satisfactory.

♦♦♦

Coming Shows

Park Theater

The next vehicle for the Park Opera Company will be Harry B. Smith's and Victor Herbert's popular operetta, "Sweethearts," which scored such a triumph at the Olympic theater recently with Christie McDonald in the leading role. This will be the first stock production of "Sweethearts" in any city. The music of this operetta is one of its most pleasing features. Nearly all its song-hits—notably "The Cricket on the Hearth" and the title song—are familiar to the lovers of light opera melodies. Miss Anne Bussert will be heard in the prima donna role. Raymond Crane and Billy Kent will handle the main comedy. The characters of "Sweethearts" are extraordinarily well suited to the variety of talent found in the make-up of the Park Opera Company.

♦

Miss Louise Allen in "A Modern Eve," is now the attraction at the Shen-

andoah. Miss Allen's last appearance in St. Louis will be Sunday night, June 4th. This week will also mark the final week of the opera company on the South Side, as the Shenandoah will go into a summer season of feature pictures on Monday, June 5th, and continue with this policy until the Players resume their engagement in the early fall.

♦

"Around the Town," a tabloid musical comedy, will lead off the programme at the Grand Opera House for the week beginning next Monday. The book and the lyrics were written by David M. Wolff and the music by Ray Peabody. Virgil Bennett staged the production and a very good spectacle indeed he has made of it. Earle S. Dewey and Mabel Rogers lead the cast; both are widely and pleasantly remembered by theater-goers here and elsewhere. Other players in the troupe are Messrs. Bruce Richardson and Ben Holmes and Miss Leona Fox. Besides, there is a dancing and singing chorus of fifteen members. After this will follow the Electrical Venus, with Mabel Burnell furnishing both the electricity and the Venusity. The piece is not only strikingly picturesque but excruciatingly funny. E. J. Moore, the pattering prestidigitator, comes next on the programme and is not the least amusing and interesting feature thereof. That clever character comedienne, Elina Gardner, will furnish an unique specialty for the entertainment of the Grand Opera House's patrons. There are several other good features.

♦

At Forest Park Highlands St. Louisans are finding the usual attractions that have made the place a popular resort for many seasons. Daily matinee and evening performances of first-class vaudeville and motion pictures, dancing, swimming and the various exhilarating aerial railways leave no opportunity for dull moments to those who are looking for pleasure. Very good music is being furnished this week by Modesta Mortensen, a young violinist, and Lemke's Marine Band.

♦♦♦

Sinn Fein

By Louis J. McQuilland

In the newspapers there has been printed much—and not too much at that—about the gallant if mistaken men of the Sinn Fein movement in Ireland, the poets and dreamers—Pearse, Connolly, Plunkett, Sheehy-Skeffington and others—but little about the movement itself. The movement was in its origin and purpose, as we say, "practical." Then it took on a poetic tinge, through alliance with the Gaelic League for the preservation of the Irish language. That is where the poets and dreamers come in.

It is claimed for Sinn Fein that it is a legitimate successor of former patriotic native movements for Irish freedom. Sinn Feiners assert that they are the legitimate heirs of all previous revolutionaries who fought for an Irish Ireland. Their leaders say they are the successors of Wolfe Tone, of Robert Emmet, of Lord Edward Fitzgerald and other eighteenth century militant Irish patriots—the United Irishmen; and of John Mitchel, Smith O'Brien, Thomas

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Francis Meagher, and Charles Gavan Duffy—the Young Irishmen of the nineteenth century who, despairing of the Constitutional Repeal methods of O'Connell, took up arms against the English Government. Ostensibly, the Sinn Fein claim is a sound one; but—and this is a great but—circumstances alter cases. The United Irishmen and the Young Irishmen and the men of 1848 and 1867 were fighting against great wrongs and cruel tyrannies; they were fighting for an Ireland which was being bled and starved to death by its English rulers; they were fighting for an Ireland which was being grossly misgoverned by a privileged and despotic caste bent on crushing every national tradition out of the country, and even of depriving her of the last solace of her religion.

At the time when Sinn Fein (meaning "Ourselves") was founded in 1905, practically all the old evil conditions had disappeared. England had ceased to rule Ireland as a conquered and alien colony. The Irish were allowed to worship God in their own way, the country was prospering, and was well in the way of continued improvement. Thanks to the sustained efforts of a pledged-bound Irish Parliamentary Party—pledged not to take office in any English Government—sweeping reforms had been thrust on the Tory Administration in the long period of power they enjoyed after the Liberal cataclysm. In 1898 the Local Government Act had been passed, which swept away the old oligarchical Grand Jury system, and gave

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the Irish people popular local control of their own affairs. In 1903, George Wyndham had carried his great Land

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Purchase Act, which gave back the land to the people and provided that the evicted tenants, "the wounded soldiers of the Land war," should be restored to their holdings. The Act was evaded in several ways, and notably as regards the evicted tenants; but nevertheless the broad principle of giving the people back their land had been established. The Tories had been forcibly converted to the doctrine of Irish conciliation. They were even considering a scheme of modified Home Rule, Mr. George Wyndham and Sir Anthony (now Lord) MacDonnell being the agents. At the instigation of the Orange Party Mr. Wyndham was recalled by Mr. Balfour, much to Mr. Balfour's discredit, as he was not only betraying a trusted colleague but an intimate friend. Still, things were well in train for extended conciliation, as Sir Anthony continued to retain his position as Under-Secretary. It was just on the eve of the return of the Liberals to a long reign of power that the Sinn Fein movement was started. The National Policy of Sinn Fein was outlined in November, 1905, and was based on the principle, "that the Irish people are a free people, and that no law made without their authority or consent is, or ever can be, binding on their conscience."

The Sinn Fein programme had for its main features the assertion of the existence of an Irish Constitution, the denial of the legality of the Union incorporating the Parliaments of Ireland and England, the denial of the right of the English Parliament to legislate for Ireland, the withdrawal of voluntary Irish support from the armed forces of England, the advocacy of the establishment of a Voluntary Legislature comprising representatives of the existent Irish Councils and Boards, agricultural, commercial and industrial interests, and the Irish members elected to the English Parliament. The National Council laid down, in addition to these sweeping establishment and maintenance of an Irish consular system, the re-establishment of an Irish mercantile marine, the development of Irish Sea Fisheries and Irish mineral resources, the control and management by an authority responsible to the Irish people of the transit systems in Ireland, and the creation of a National Civil Service comprising the employes of all bodies responsible to the Irish people."

If there was any failure in the drafting of the Sinn Fein proposals, that failure was not due to want of scope. Colonel Lynch, M. P., points out that while many of their schemes were excellent, including propositions for re-forestation, arterial drainage and reclamation of waste lands, to carry them into effect would require the expenditure of many millions of pounds. In addition to this, the Congested Districts Board and other similar bodies are now devoting considerable energy to the promotion of such schemes in a sensible way. For the carrying out of their programme of complete legislative independence, the National Council only asked for the pathetic sum of £800 a year; and so little confidence had their countrymen in them or their projects that they did not get it.

A salient feature of the Sinn Fein policy against the neighboring country

of England was a boycott of all English imports and all English institutions. No Irish Member was to go to Westminster, but Sinn Fein was to have a self-constituted National Council in Dublin, under the control of which a National Stock Exchange was to be established and National Arbitration Courts formed. The Irish Consuls at Foreign Ports, who were, of course, to be quite independent of the resident British Consuls, were to attend to the interests and the development of Irish trade. The fact that Ireland had not a single boat for a merchant marine was a detail beneath the lofty and godlike notice of the National Council.

All these ambitious proposals came under the heading of the "Hungarian Policy." Hungary, in its famous struggle for independence, had established a boycott against Austria, which finally resulted in Hungarian freedom; but it has been pointed out that when the Hungarian delegates left the Imperial Parliament of Austria, they were the representatives of the people hardly less in numbers than the Austrians themselves, drilled and armed, and well inured to war.

Sinn Fein, therefore, began as a Passive Resistance movement, and, failing to effect anything, gradually developed into a physically militant movement. The Sinn Fein Council started by urging that Irishmen should pay no income-tax, but Sinn Feiners continued to pay it. The Sinn Fein Council urged that all British institutions should be banned, but the Sinn Feiners still inflexibly continued to draw their salaries as members of the Civil Service. Their idea was to establish native courts of law; but they themselves appeared—in at least one case—as plaintiff and defendant in a case in the Sassenach Four Courts; and they generally yielded on this point of trial by what they termed a foreign judiciary. The Sinn Fein Passive Resistance movement was a movement *pour rire*, and the exponents of Sinn Fein were promptly condemned at the national court of ridicule—an unofficial but formidable judgment bench—by their own manifest inconsistencies.

If, however, the Sinn Feiners did not live logically, they died superbly. One cannot fail to have a generous measure of sympathy for *real* Conscientious Objectors—whatever they object to—when they fall, rifle in hand, for a principle, or suffer the last rigor of the law for a doctrine.

Marts and Money

There wasn't must of a market on the Stock Exchange in New York. Business shrank materially, and quotations displayed a sagging tendency. The majority of traders were in a hesitant mood. They disliked the violent ups and downs in the price of Reading common; they felt timid on account of peace rumors; they took careful notice of intimations of reactionary symptoms in some industrial lines; they thought it advisable to go slow and easy pending the outcome of the Republican Convention. There was heavy selling of Reading when the price had risen to 110 for the par value of \$50 a share. It was attended by disappointing talk respecting

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the long-hoped-for distribution of fabulous assets. At the present time, the stock is valued at 100. Union Pacific common recorded a depreciation of \$4, Canadian Pacific one of \$6, and Baltimore & Ohio common one of \$3.

The abruptness of the downward course indicated that the previous improvement had been the outcome, mostly, of professional manipulation, undertaken with the cheerful idea that sensational advances in a few conspicuous quarters couldn't fail of making a great hit among the speculative public. As it happened, the ardently courted "outsiders" succeeded in maintaining their mental equipoise, despite the assiduity of brokers in spreading before them a remarkable assortment of enticing gossip. The professional organs of the "Street" staunchly assert that the *à la hausse* movement has not yet been abandoned and that it will be resumed in the very near future. According to their "conservatively optimistic opinions," purchases should be made "on all soft spots," with a view to gathering profits of \$10 to \$25 before September 1. It seems rather funny to watch these broker chaps in their efforts to keep the public interested on the "bull" side of the market, despite the phenomenal advances already recorded in numerous cases, and in the face of a display of price juggling of the most palpable sort. The busy fellows act on the theory that the average "outsider" is invariably more inclined to buy than to sell.

Such are the ethics of business nowadays. There can be no reasonable objection to harping upon the various manifestations of prosperity throughout the Nation. It is helpful if done discreetly and on the proper occasions. But it becomes an annoyance if indulged in constantly and in phraseology of a superlative kind, and especially so if the guilty party is actuated by money-getting considerations. At the present time, the disposition to "boost" things is entirely too prevalent in brokerage establishments, and, I believe, also in the offices of many banking institutions,

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not alone in New York, but all over the country. The determinative economic interests of the people will be served best, in the long run, if good words are tempered with the necessary modicum of prudence, that is to say, if they are supplemented with hints at the uncertainties of the times, both in Europe and in the United States.

As I have frequently remarked in the MIRROR, there are many stocks of unquestionable investment merits which cannot be regarded as fatuously priced under existing conditions in money and industrial markets. They are selling at figures indicating net returns of 5 to 7 per cent, and this in a season of abnormally low charges for time and mercantile loans. If the professional folks of Wall Street find it difficult, or rather impossible, to promote a truly substantial

enhancement in the quotations for this class of stocks, it must be because of an unresponsive attitude on the part of speculative people, liquidation for foreign account, and misgivings with respect to the probable consequences of a termination of hostilities. There's a steady absorption of good dividend-paying certificates, according to reliable information. The investment purchases are made at every favorable opportunity, but the daily or weekly totals of them are not large enough to facilitate attempts to raise quoted values to the extents desired by the controlling Stock Exchange cliques.

The Governments of Great Britain and France still are engaged in vigorous efforts to promote the avowed ends of their "financial mobilization" plans. They are vigorously urging their citizens to deposit their holdings of American and other foreign securities for purposes of liquidation under Government supervision. We are given to understand that the official appeals have lately not been responded to in generous ways. If this information is correct, the gold-import movement can easily be accounted for. In case the extraordinarily large trade balances running against England and France cannot be settled through liquidation of American securities owned by their capitalistic people, payment must be made in specie, that is, in gold.

Should British and French investors remain reluctant to sell their remaining holdings of bonds, notes, and stocks at ruling quotations in the New York market, Wall Street may find it possible to inaugurate another important "bull" campaign by and by, in the absence of inauspicious occurrences in other directions. In the meanwhile, it should be plain to the regnant financial authorities that existing circumstances demand the

adoption of circumspect temporizing policies both as regards values and new financing.

The latest weekly statement of the Clearing-House banks and trust companies in New York disclose another sharp reduction in aggregate excess reserves—one of \$12,000,000. As a result, the record stands at \$65,000,000. There's a good deal of conjecturing respecting the causes of the heavy withdrawals of cash in recent times. No authoritative explanations have thus far come forth.

The stock of the Kennecott Copper Co. is quoted at 54 $\frac{3}{4}$, against 50 on April 3. It is reported that unusually large blocks of it have changed hands of late without affecting the price importantly either way. In some quarters it is suspected that inside holdings are being distributed in anticipation of an unfavorable turn in the metal market. This suspicion finds no credence, however, on the floor of the Exchange; nor among bankers who are supposed to be shrewdly instructed with reference to the affairs of the company. It has become known that Mr. Samuel Untermyer owns 23,000 shares of this stock. Since he publicly declared, three years ago, that he had never speculated in Wall Street shares, it must be presumed that he bought the stock outright for investment purposes. Representative market opinion is unqualifiedly optimistic as to the farther future of the Kennecott Company, the principal owners of which are the Guggenheims.

A few weeks ago, some Chicago parties started a movement to liberate the metal industry of the United States from British and German control, but it is not believed that the outcome will be satisfactory. Incidentally, the fact has been revealed that transactions on the Metal Exchange in New York are devoid of particular significance, because the prices are ruled by quotations established on the Exchange in London. The Federal Government has been asked to be kind enough to look into the matter a little deeply.

Advices respecting the iron and steel trade are to the effect that the volume of domestic orders has fallen off appreciably, but that the loss in this respect has been counterbalanced by additional and especially valuable contracts for shell-steel. The Steel Corporation alone is credited with orders aggregating 250,000 tons of such material. Furthermore, there are foreign inquiries for over one thousand locomotives, chiefly for Russia.

Chairman E. H. Gary, of the Steel Corporation, continues in a cautiously hopeful spirit regarding the industry's prospects. Charles Schwab, however, is outspokenly cheerful, notwithstanding the movement in Congress to appropriate funds for an armor-plate plant. There are hints that the par value of Bethlehem Steel common, now quoted at 455, may be lowered from \$100 to \$25. They are elucidated by intimations that the parties in interest think the public demand for the shares would be much more lively than it has been for some time if the par value were reduced to \$25. You see the point, don't you?

Finance in St. Louis.

Local brokers did a creditable amount of business lately, but the incidental



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price changes were not especially interesting. Attention was largely concentrated in the 4 per cent bonds and

preferred stock of the United Railways Co. Of the former, nearly \$50,000 were transferred at 60 to 60.50. Two hundred

and ninety shares of the preferred stock brought 15.25 and 15.50; the recent absolute minimum was 13.50. The substantially enlarged transactions in these issues undoubtedly reflect a shifting of important holdings for some reason or other. One thousand dollars St. Louis & Suburban first mortgage 5s sold at 100.50, or at a figure denoting an improvement of two and a half points when compared with last year's bottom price—98. Years ago, these bonds were considered highly desirable purchases at 102 to 104.

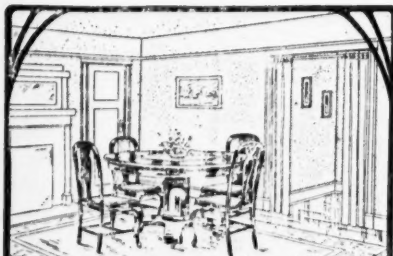
There was some lively bidding, occasionally, for two or three leading bank certificates, but the resultant transfers were not bulky in any instance. About fifty shares of Bank of Commerce were disposed of at 104.50 and 104.62½. Twenty-five Mercantile Trust brought 343, and five, 341.50. Of Title Guaranty Trust, sixty-five shares were sold at 112. The stock of the new Lafayette-South Side Bank is quoted at 260 bid, with none offering. This means that people anxious to get possessed of some of it have to step pretty lively along Brokers' Row. Five Merchants-Laclede brought 287.50.

There were no particular favorites in the industrial department. Twenty Ely-Walker second preferred changed hands at 87.50; twenty-five Union Sand & Material at 74 and 75; thirty-five International Shoe common at 97 and 98; five of the preferred at 110.50; twenty Chicago Railway Equipment at 97.75 and 98, and ten National Candy common at 6.

The little lull on the St. Louis Exchange is somewhat in sympathy with the material shrinkage in trading down East. Wall Street continues to give the cue to the financial communities of the whole country.

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United Railways com.	37 1/2	37 1/2
do pfd	15 1/2	15 1/2
do 4s	59 3/4	60
St. L. & Sub. gen. 5s	79	79
Union Depot 6s	102 3/4	102 3/4
Am. Central Insurance	258	265
Union Sand & Material	76 1/2	77
International Shoe com.	97	98
do pfd	109	110
Granite-Bimetallic	75	75
Independent Brew. 1st pfd	20 3/4	21
do 6s	58 1/2	60
Chicago Ry. Equipment	98	98 1/2
Wagner Electric	242	244

Answers to Inquiries.

In Doubt, St. Louis.—The common stock of the Jewel Tea Co., recently organized, is confidently expected to go above par, according to Wall Street's mouthpieces. Dividend payments can be initiated at any time, we are told. The current price implies an advance of \$20 since the listing in March. The stock might prove a good speculation, if you are sufficiently equipped, financially, to withstand the effects of a sudden squall. For investment purposes, the preferred should be given the preference.

F. S. H., Wichita, Kans.—Missouri Pacific should be held tenaciously, notwithstanding the prospective stiff assessment. The property's reorganization will be completed before December 31. The receiver, Mr. B. F. Bush, is pursuing the correct policies, and it may be taken for granted, therefore, that the termination of the receivership will find the system in excellent shape, financially and physically, for hauling greater traffic than it has ever done before. Earnings are "plowed in" right along, and in very liberal fashion. It will pay you to stick to your holdings, remit the assessment of \$40, or so, and await the outcome. Ultimately, the Missouri Pacific should be as remunerative an investment as the Atchison is to-day.

Subscriber, Muskogee, Ok.—Cotton should be bought during spells of depression, such as have been witnessed in the past two weeks. The market is susceptible to peace rumors and reports of bettered weather conditions in some of the producing States. The upward movement had been a little too precipitous, and productive of too many stop-loss orders for light-weight speculators. The planters and American spinners will do a big business after the ending of the war, and Europe will need the goods in enormous quantities. That's official.

Reub, Mattoon, Ill.—The price of Republic Iron & Steel preferred would no doubt decline a number of points in case of a general down-turn. If you wish to buy, place your order at, say, 102. If you intend buying as much as one hundred shares, split the order, and buy on a downward scale. Don't get excited and don't lose your head on account of the "hot bull dope" concerning steel stocks. The boys have "discounted" a whole lot in the last few months.

J. N. F., Hattiesburg, Miss.—Kansas City Southern common at current earning rate would show a surplus of \$30,000,000 for the year, equal to 2.65 per cent. The earnings in 1915 were over \$300,000, or one per cent, after the usual dividend of four per cent on the \$21,000,000 preferred. For the eight months to February 29, operating income showed a gain of \$337,725. In present good conditions the gain to June

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30 over the 1915 figures should be approximately \$475,000. Adding other income, arbitrarily placed at \$173,000, the gross for the current year should be about \$3,631,000, against \$3,153,678 in 1915. Deducting fixed charges of \$2,000,000 in round numbers, this year's net income should be \$1,631,000, as against \$1,140,431 the previous year, or 7.7 per cent on the preferred, as against 5.43 per cent. From these figures you may deduce the prospects of the common.

New Books Received

SOME IMAGIST POETS. 1916. Boston: Houghton-Mifflin Co.; 75c net.

The second volume of this annual anthology, being a collection from the imagist poetry of Richard Aldington, H. D., John Gould Fletcher, F. S. Flint, D. H. Lawrence and Amy Lowell. The uninitiate will be grateful for the preface, which explains, defines and diagrams imagism. A number in the New Poetry Series.

PRESENT-DAY CHINA by Gardner L. Harding. New York: Century Co.; \$1.00 net.

A new book about awakened China by a trained traveler, student and writer; a summing up of the problems, achievements and prospects of the republic, revealing a nation very different from the popular American concept of it.

NATIONALITY IN MODERN HISTORY by J. Holland Rose. New York: MacMillan & Co.; \$1.25.

A series of lectures on the varied manifestations of Nationality among the chief European peoples given at Cambridge University in 1915, considering in detail the dawn of the national idea, the influence of the French monarchy and republic, the influence of Schiller and Fichte, the Spanish national rising, Mazzini and Young Italy, the awakening of the Slavs, the German theory of state, nationality and militarism, nationalism since 1885 and internationalism. Dr. Rose, who is a fellow of Christ's college, Cambridge, reader in modern history to the University of Cambridge and corresponding member of the Massachusetts Historical Society, began his study of this subject many years ago and asserts that the present war has modified his views very little.

SUSAN CLEGG AND HER LOVE AFFAIRS by Anne Warner. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.; \$1.30.

The further and final adventures of Susan Clegg, wherein she attains matrimony.

POLITICAL THOUGHT IN ENGLAND by William I. Davidson, M. A., LL. D. New York: Henry Holt & Co.; 50c.

Dealing clearly and concisely with the utilitarians from Jeremy Bentham to John Stuart Mill; defining the utilitarian position and considering in detail the lives and writings, theories of government, legislation, political economy, education, punishment and prisons, ethics, etc., of Bentham, Mill, James Mill, John Austen,



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DANTE by Jefferson Butler Fletcher, A. M. New York: Henry Holt & Co.; 50c.

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